LEAGUE OR TAXES, HITCHCOCK WARNS

Nebraska Senator Tells Chi- suttable cagoans War Danger Is Not Over.

ANSWERS BIG OBJECTIONS

Denies British Would Dominate or That Japan Could Send Immigrants.

CHICAGO, March 26 .- Declaying that Foreign Relations, paused a moment in against war. hether nations are barbarous or civilsed, Christian or pagan, educated or

"They will centinue in the future as

ernment revenue and public sentiment probably will never again submit to the old practice of raising the bulk of the revenue by taxes on the consumer, no matter how they are levied. This may be a cold blooded way of looking at the consumer, but I wish to make it plain. question, but I wish to make it plain that the Paris conference is not entirely academic but affects us all tremen-

dously.

"Shall we support this effort of repudlate it? Already opposition is strongly developed. Considering these objections was first said the league would be s sort of supernation, with a great stand-ing army and navy capable of destroy-ing any particular nation. The objection disappeared as soon as the league constitution was published. "Second, the objection was made that the United States surrendered a part

the United States surrendered a part of its sovereignty by entering the league. Tariff Laws, &c.—The breadth, however, of the provisions to which I have rethe United States nor any other naferred raises a caution and the need of it is emphasized by the provision of Article a not a government and has no sovereign III. that at the meetings of the Executive III.

the United States abandons the above the properties. How can this doctrine with be abandoned by joining a league which should proposes to put a stop to aggressions by force against every nation, including equally

"Fourth, objection has been made that

of it were true, it would not matter pecially has many interests in com-

aight insist on having the league settle amigration question and through he league force us to admit Japanese. f she could she could also force us to change our laws of marriage and divorce, taxation or any other domestic question. The league, however, deals

HUGHES OFFERS 7

Continued from First Page.

asked not to voice an emotion but to approve a plan. The question is one of vital importance to the American people. It is a great American question and be discussed without partisan bias. If the plan is a good one it ought to be approved regardless of its origin. If the plan is seriously defective or dangerous its source should not save it. The question is presented in advance of the formulation of party platforms and should be considered upon its merits. Republican opposers who believe they are right should welcome Democratic

"This counsel, of course, is for Demo-rate as well as Republicans. If the latter are not to oppose because they are Republicans it should be equally ex-nected that the latter will not support because they are Democrats. The test is not in profession, but in the candor with which the subject is treated."

After quoting Mr. Taft and President Lowell of Harvard to indicate agree-ment on the defective drafting of the covenant, Mr. Hughes said: "The Ameri-can people were entitled to a better piece

and its promise lies in whatever prospect

So far as arbitration of disputes is concerned, Mr. Hughes said, the submis-sion provided by the covenant is opand does not go beyond existing practice. Either party may block arbi-tration if he considers the dispute not suitable for submission. He continued: "There is no agreement to comply with a unanimous recommendation (after ref-erence to the body of delegates), the agreement being simply not to go to war against a disputant who does com-

"It is apparent that the value of Article XII. [no war without arbitration or inquiry] and of the sanction of Article XVI. Hes in the agreement to submit disputes to inquiry and to await to the suggestion that the doctrine has the time required for the inquiry. Whether the time allowed for the inquiry and the facts developed and published preliminary to or in the course of the inquiry will lead to a 'cooling resident Polk in his messages of 1845 off.' or whether the contract of the course of the c of the inquiry will lead to a 'cooling off,' or whether the controversy will be-come more bitter and finally end in war is beyond the range of prophecy. The value of an opportunity for 'cooling off' and there is only one League of Nations con-stitution before the world and that the people must accept this or nothing, Sen-ator G. M. Hitchcock of Nebraska, for-merly chairman of the Committee on far short of any positive assurance against war."

his speech to the Association of Com-merce to-day and added: "I am for it." on the Monroe Doctrine and reviewed "We need not deceive ourselves with "We need not deceive ourselves with foolish hopes that wars will naturally The rest of Mr. Hughes's address, in

What League Embraces.

"Scope of Inquiries by the League-In

"They will centinus in the future as they have in the past unless nations units in a plan to avoid them. For the first time in history nations are making an effort to do this.

Says It is League or Tax.

Taxes in the United States to cover these preparations would run into hundreds of millions of dollars a year. Most of this burden would be in the form of taxes on incomes and business profits.

"Prohibition has knocked out several hundred million dollars a year of government revenue and public sentiment probably will never again submit to the old practice of raising the bulk of the revenue by taxes on the consumer, no safecting international intercourse which laration based upon this nation's right of self-preservation it cannot be trans-muted into a joint or common declara-

ffecting international intercourse which

arrecting international intercourse which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

'This, properly understood and confined to the proper sphere of international conference, is flexible and practicable. It gives voice to the lesson of the great war. It provides the machinery for consultation, mediation and conciliation. It commits to no action, leaves the door open for the only cooperation that can properly be contemplated; that is, the cooperation which at the time of the exigency is deemed to be advisable.

"Internal Concerns, Immigration and Tariff Loses, &c.—The breadth, however, of the provisions to which I have retive Council any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affect-ing the peace of the world may be dealt ing the peace of the world may be dealt with. Important as it is that there should be broad opportunity for consultation, mediation and conciliation, it is equally important that this opportunity should not be made the occasion of intrusive inputities into internal concerns. Prourth, objection has been like. It is a frust of the league, which it is claimed would to the league, which it is claimed would to its disruption and would be likely to breed troubles rather than to cure

were true, it would not matter words I have quoted will have approwith respect to labor conditions, manufacture of munitions by private enter-prise, &c., which indicate that the field of inquiry is not to be limited by pre-

clusive concern, then there should be appropriate qualifications to the general words of the covenant, both with respect to the field of the league's inquiries and as to the submission of disputes. Unnecessary ambiguities are not the friends of peace. The suggestion that it is unwise to refer particu-

tion that it is unwise to refer particu-larly to such matters as immigration and the tariff shows conclusively that it would be the height of unwisdom not to refer to them.

The very fact that even now, when any reasonable request should not go unheeded, we are told that, although such matters are of internal concern, reference should not be expressly made to them as belonging in that category, shows conclusively that it is not asfe to trust this matter to the future. We do trust this matter to the future. We do not wish inquiries stimulated along these ines, even though they are only for the purpose of securing recommendations unless we propose to recognize such inquiries as appropriate. On this matter there should be candid and explicit prodiston, in order that the nation may b properly advised of what it is proposed to do. I must assume, until the con-trary is established, that those who are in charge of our interests at Paris will see to it that the covenant is suitably amended in this respect

"The Monroe Doctrine-It has been said, I understand, that the covenant ex-tends the Monroe Doctrine to the world. This is a singularly infelicitous and in-Lowell of Harvard to indicate agreement on the defective fracting of the covenant, Mr. Hushes said: "The American people were entitled to a better piece of work, and at least it was a mistake to have given the impression that the document was a finished product with a food reason for its chelic of expressions, when later it was necessary to excuss it as a hasty draft which required revision.

"Much would have been gained." Mr. Hushes added. "If at the outset a part of the time expended in its prales had been devoted to its correction."

Mr. Hushes then stated the views to which his study of the covenant had led him. He deemed it extraordinary that clear, specific provision had given rise to much criticism which could easily have been averted. He was satisfied, however, that except as otherwise provided in the covenant either of promise of benefit or make action effective. This requirement "deprives many of the provisions of the covenant either of promise of benefit or mensec of harm from any definite action where unantimity cannot be had, and reduces the covenant in large measure to a han for conference."

As to matters left to future consideration and decision, the speaker said the covenant is nothing mage than a reneral declaration of intention which will depend for the fruitten of the hopes and wishes it embodies upon the subsequent unantimity cannot be had, and reduces the covenant in large measure to a han for conference."

As to matters left to future consideration and decision, the speaker said the covenant is nothing mage than a reneral declaration of intention which will depend for the fruitten of the hopes and wishes it embodies upon the subsequent unanimous action of the disarmament provision of Article VIII would depend. Mr. Hughes said, entirely upon consent; the assent of the United States to the plan when recommended by the Executive Council would depend upon the spitch was: I am unable to see either the provision of Congress. His general consequence of the American decided to the course of the d accurate description of the effect of the

original declaration there was a great element of sentiment and of sympathy for the people of South America who were struggling for freedom, and it has been a source of great satisfaction to the United States that the course which the United States that the course which because they do not want another nation it took in 1823 concurrently with the action of Great Britain played so great a long for the league would object to such a clause, it will be for Congress to decide whether to acquire military posts or naval stations of Great Britain played so great a constraint or engineering the right of self-great constraints or in any other way judge of what in good faith it should do. In the case of the United States, the guaranty will not be made good except by the action of Congress, and it will be for Congress to decide whether the states of the United States. tion of Great Britain played so great a part in assuring the right of self gov-ernment to the countries of South America. Yet is it to be observed that in reference to the South American governments, as in all other respects, the international right upon which the

and 1848, when he included the acquisi

tion of territory by a European power through cession as dangerous to the safety of the United States. It was

really but stating a corollary to the doctrine of 1823 and asserting the same

right of self-protection against the other

uniformly agreed to by the Government and the people of the United States that

it may fairly be regarded as being now a part of the doctrine.

notwithstanding, there has been no other change or enlargement of the Monroe Doctrine since it was first promulgated.

tion by American States or any number of them.

"'It is plain that the building of the

of all responsible students of the sub-

ion which has acquiesced in the British

American states as well as against Eu-

"The corollary has been so long and

But, all assertions to the contrary

declaration expressly rests is not senti-ment or sympathy or a claim to dictate what kind of government any other country shall have, but the safety of the United States. tions, with machinery like that of the present league, and that European nations should not intervene unless requested to do so by the American nations.

A Trouble Breeder.

"The Guaranty in Article X.—This is as follows: "Senator Root also addressed himself

dertaking, that is, the present assump-tion of the obligation as defined. The guaranty relates to the territorial in-tegrity and political independence of

should be given for the protection of the new States to be erected in Europe. But there appears to be no reason in any event why a guaranty of this sort should be given to all the States in the

Panama Canal greatly accentuates the practical necessity of the Monroe Doc-trine as it applies to all the territory surrounding the Caribbean or near the Bay of Panama. The plainest lessons of history and the universal judgment sect concur in teaching that the poten-tial command of the route to and from the Canal must rest with the United States and that the vital interests of the nation forbid that such command shall pass into other hands. Certainly no ramaintaining the rule of Monroe becomes the Executive Council and three-fourths less immediate and apparent. But who of the States whose representatives completed to draw the line? Who pose the body of delegates ratify the will say, "To this point the rule of Mon-amendment. Unless the league is disroe should apply; beyond this point it should not"? Who will say that a new as a permanent one. The guaranty national force created beyond any line makes no allowance for changes which

the development and relation of states ditions as arranged at this conference in the new world from the influences in a world of dynamic forces to which operating in Europe played an even no one can set bounds. It gives no fair national protection in the distant future the teeth of experience. The limitation is one not to be solved by the first important of the words as against external aggregations of the casual observer, but sion is a frail reliance; no one can be the marks of particular national protection in the distant future is one not to be solved by the first impressions of the casual observer, but only by profound study of the forces which in the long life of nations work out results. In this case the results of such a study by the best men of the formative period of the United States are supported by the instincts of the American democracy holding steadily in one direction for almost a century. The problem has not changed essentially. anty to apply to unknown and seeable contingencies? Why no

"I believe that these words, spoken in

"The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political in-dependence of all States members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in any case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled. "This contemplates an immediate un-

Doctrine since it was first promulgated.

The substance of the thing to which the nation holds, and that is and always has been that the safety of the United States demands that American territory shall remain American.

"Senator Root said further:

"Since the Monroe Doctrine is a declaration based upon this nation's right of said that this guaranty to should be given for the protection of the first said that this guaranty to should be given for the protection of the first said that this guaranty to should be given for the protection of the first said that the said that this guaranty to should be given for the protection of the first said that the said that this guaranty that integrity and independence as against external aggression. If this preservation, as may be expected, represervation, as may be expected, represervation, as may be expected, represervation and independence as against external aggression. If this preservation, as may be expected, represervation, as may be expected, represervation and independence as against external aggression. If this preservation, as may be expected, represervation, as may be expected, represervation as may be expected.

the league. lieve it to be unnecessary and unwise; there is little ground for supposing that it will prevent war; on the contrary, it is likely to prove illusory and to create isappointment and a sense of injury "Primarily, apart from other considerations, its inflexibility should condemn State could withdraw from the league occupation of Egypt will dispute this the undertaking would remain as long proposition. Undoubtedly as one passes as membership continued, and the coveto the south and the distance from the Caribbean increases, the necessity of States whose representatives compose

that he can draw will stay beyond it may be advisable. It ascribes a pre-and will not in the long course of time science and soundness of judgment to extend itself indefinitely?

"The danger to be apprehended from ing States and defining boundaries of the history of the states." The danger to be apprehended from the immediate proximity of hostile which robody in the history of the forces was not the sole consideration world has ever possessed. Even as to leading to the declaration. The need the new States it attempts to make perto separate the influences determining manent existing conditions, or condi-

ufacture of munitions by private enterprise, &c., which indicate that the field of inquiry is not to be limited by previous conceptions of what affects international intercourse. While the authority does not extend beyond the domain of recommendation, the jurisdiction should be properly defined, else that which is intended to heal difficulties may create them.

If the United States proposes to regard her immigration laws, her tariff laws, and her laws relating to the regardiation of commerce, including her coastwise traffe, as matters of her exclusive concern, then there should be appropriate qualifications to the general words of the covenant, both with respect to the field of the league's inquireless and as to the submission of disputations.

tions in the neighborhood of their own coasts, canals or coaling stations."

"Such an amendment is essential; I regard it as vital to our just interests.

"Again, in order to safeguard interests that are distinctively American, I agree with Mr. Taft that there should be a further provision that "the settlement of purely American questions should be remitted primarily to the American nations, with machinery like that of the present league, and that European nations, with machinery like that of the hand of a defaulted in our obligation. On the other hand, if in our conception of duty

Two Aspects of Treaties.

of making response to the importunate demand of stricken and suffering peoples that an organized endeavor should be made to prevent the recurrence of strife. I deeply sympathize with the purpose to provide international arrangements for conference, for the judicial settlement of operation to the fullest extent practicable tion of the obligation as defined. The guaranty relates to the territorial integrity and political independence of our national safety. But time passes every State that is a member of the league; the agreement is to preserve that integrity and independence as against external aggression. If this preservation, as may be expected, requires the force of arms, then we must supply the force of arms or be regarded as defauiting in our engagement. tion depend upon the fostering of firm flon depend upon the lostering of the friendships springing from an apprecia-tion of community of ideals, interests and purposes, and such friendships are more likely to be promoted by freedom of conference than by the effort to create

"Constitutional Questions. To avoid confusion of thought it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind an established distinction. Treaties may be considered in two aspects. (1) with respect to the municipal law of the United States, that is as a part of the supreme law of the land, and (2) as contracts with foreign nations. When a treaty is self-execut-ing, that is when it may be put into effect without the ald of legislati struction and enforcement by the courts In this aspect, the Supreme Court re-sorts to the treaty for a rule of decision for the case before it, as it would to a statute, and like a statute, the treaty is subject to repeal or modification subsequent act of Congress. (money cases, 112 U. S., 580,599.)

"In its aspect as a contract with foreign nation, the question is one fo the political department of the Govern-ment. Where the treaty by its terms requires legislation to carry it out, there ie no judicial question presented unti the necessary legislation has been passed The principle was thus declared by Chief Justice Marshall in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court in Foster

"'Our Constitution declares treaty to be the law of the land. is. consequently, to be regarded in courts of justice as equivalent to an operates of itself without the aid o any legislative provision. But when the terms of the stipulation import a codiract—when either of the parties engages to perform a particular act —the treaty addresses itself to the political, not the judicial department and the Legislature must execute the contract before it can become a rule for the court."

he covenant contemplate legislation

thus, the provision of Article XVI. with respect to the severance of trade or finan- clair relations with a State breaking its agreement under Article XII. to submit a mooted one.

"It is in this sense that the covenant ure on a specified notice.

"It is in this sense that the covenant ure on a specified notice.

"It is in this sense that the covenant ure on a specified notice.

"While this is being written, there are as to the constitutionality of the treaty; ternational one and addressed to the political department of the Government. So, also, if by reason of the guaranty in Article X. Congress should decide to declare war, no question would arise as to the validity of the guaranty, and if to the validity of the guaranty, and if Congress refused to declare war there expected to take the view that they were would be no question for the courts. It not concerned with our internal arrange-is manifest, therefore, that in the event ments and that it was the obligation of

to time, since the days of Washington. Despite these debates, and notwith-standing its power to frustrate the carrying out of treaties. Congress in a host of instances has passed the neces-sary legislation to give them effect; and the disposition has frequently been manifested to avoid any basis for the charge of bad faith through a disregard of treaty stipulations. The Supreme Court has broadly defined the treaty power as being 'unlimited except by those restraints which are found' in the Constitution 'against the action of the Government or of its departments, and States. It would not be contended that it extends so far as to authorize what that of one of the States, or a cession of any portion of the territory of the latter without its consent. . . But with these exceptions, it is not perceived that there is any limit to the questions which can be adjusted touch-ing any matter which is properly the subject of negotiation with a foreign ('De Geofroy v. Riggs,' 133

"With respect to appropriations of lation for the carrying out of such pro-visions as are within the manifest scope of the treaty making power, there would seem to be no doubt of the recog-nition of the moral obligation of Congress. (1 Kent's Com., 165; Dana's Wheaton, Sec. 543.) But it is apparent to a student of our history that Congress has not recognized an authority of treaty making power to place upon Congress the moral duty to carry out any sort of stipulation, and there have notable remonstrances in the

U. S., 258,267.)

the policy of treaties are of signt value braced, as a guide to the attitude of Congress in a future controversy with respect to the provisions of this covenant. There is nothing in our history to give assurance any possession on the American continuous the standard adjacent thereto. Whether or not Congress would feel itself bound to respond or would take the for the court.'

resort to war, it could not be pledged the league shall be constituted a mandarin the present case, the provisions of in advance without its consent, is a tory without its consent, and no Eurohe covenant contemplate legislation, equestion which must be left to the event. pean or Asiatic Fower shall be conple."

thus, the provision of Article XVI. with The discussions which have repeatedly stituted a mandatory of any American

disputes to arbitration or to inquiry, is a provision which would require legislative action to carry out. If Congress passed legislation for the described purpose and it was legislation of a character which Congress was otherwise competent to enact, no question would arise gress can be dispensed with. The point that constitutional questions. There is no such question in the sense that action by Conpetent to enact, no question would arise gress can be dispensed with. The point that constitutionally action to the constitution of the constitu is that Congress would be the judge of and if Congress refused to pass the legis-lation, the question of breach of the pro-vision of the covenant would be an in-the treaty power could impose and had

of the ratification of the covenant, the the United States to see that the action question whether an obligation had been claimed to have been agreed upon was created by the proper exercise of the taken. If that action was not taken, created by the proper exercise of the treaty making power would be one which Congress would determine in deciding whether it should enact legislation under Article XVI or declare war in pursuance to Article XV. The extent to which Congress would regard itself as bound, as a matter of the treaty making power to good faith, to enact legislation for the purpose of carrying out treaties has been the subject of debate, from time to time, since the days of Washington Despite these debate. reason to believe that Congress will act accordingly. Assuming that this could be expected with respect to the legislation required by Article XVI, it is manifest that when the covenant calls for the making of war, there can be no for the making of war, there can be no described by the country of the making of war, there can be no described by the country of the c

> were subsequently made without regis-tration, it is difficult to see upon what ground it could be deemed to be invalid as between the parties who entered

"Mandatories. I shall not review the provisions as to mandatories. The plan has decided merit. It does not follow, however, that the United States should assume the obligation of a mandatory in the Eastern Hemisphere. Such an undertaking would present the most se-rious questions. It is clear that we ought not to be put in a position where we would be bound, even morally, to accept such a designation. The right to refuse to be a mandatory should be distinctly reserved.
"Withdrawal. It should also be made

specified notice. "Suggested Amendments, Aside from involve "surrender of the independence

"(1) By explicit provision as to the requirement of unanimity in decision. "(2) By suitable limitation as to the mitments even with respect to legisla-tion as to commercial regulations.

"Congressional precedents in cases ternal concerns of States, such as im-"Congressional precedents in cases ternal concerns of States, such as im-where Congress has been in accord with migration and tariff laws, are not em-the policy of treaties are of slight value braced.

Congress would recognize the nent or the islands adjacent thereto, ority of the treaty power to bind "(4) By providing that the settleme authority of the treaty power to bind

Congress to declare war in a cause that it did not approve. The decision as to the policy, as to existence of the duty, and that European nations shall and as to the power to create the duty, would rest with Congress.

But to the islands adjacent threeto.

"4) By providing that the settlement of purely American questions shall be remitted primarily to the American nations shall be to the duty, would rest with Congress. by the American nations. "(6) By providing that no member of

reports that amendments are being made. This is as it should be, and it may be hoped that the amendments will go far enough to meet serious objections. The important changes that are desired are it practicable and lasting. We can read-

it practicable and lasting. We can readily arrange for desirable conferences
without disadvantageous commitments.

"And it should be remembered that
the great protection against war for
a considerable period of years will be
found not in any forms of words that
may now be adopted, however desirable
these may be, but in economic conditions
which are an assurance that for a considerable time at least we she have a recurrence of world strife.

"The danger now lies, not in the menace of force employed to further imperial designs, but in the disorder due to the break up and the removal of tra-ditional restraints and the tendency to revolution within States. In making commitments it should be remembered at this time we should do everything

manifest that when the covenant calls for the making of war, there can be no such assurance. And this does not mean that Congress will repudiate an admitted obligation, but that Congress may conclude that the obligation does not exist because in such a matter it could not be imposed. From such a decision, there would be no appeal.

"Readination of Tractics. The result." there would be no appeal.

"Registration of Treaties. The provision of Article XXIII, that no treaty shall be binding unless registered, as not the red flag, but the Stars and provided in the article, presents little difficulty. The parties may observe it if they choose by registering their treaties, and it may be assumed that they would observe it. If, however, a treaty were subsequently made without register.

POINDEXTER CALLS PACT INTOLERABLE

Unacceptable "in Whatever Form," He Declares.

CINCINNATI, March 26 -Senator Poindexter (Wash.), Republican, addressing the Business Men's Club here to-night, declared the proposed League of Nations plan was "utterly intolerable" in whatever form it may be developed, and was He said "union of action and comera

tion" was highly desirable if it did not and sovereignty of the free nations of "Under the constitution of the League

of Nations, or any constitution based upon similar principles," said Mr. Poindexter, "the autonomy and self-determi nation of the individual nations would be absolutely destroyed. In other words. while pretending to preserve liberty, it would by this very act at once destroy the liberties of the world and set up a monstrous military despotism

perior to and allen from the nations over which it is to rule, with independent power and authorized to use force, is utterly intolerable in whatever form it taining this element of a superior supergovernment of the world, with sovereign which is advocated with so much formal



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